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his father's lodge, where his seat had always been kept for him. With his own folks he stayed as long as he wished, leaving it generally as soon as he decided to live alone—a decision that was usually reached as soon as he had one child or a number of children. However, he did not always build his own lodge, especially in the olden times, when it was customary for those Winnebago who lived in permanent villages to occupy the long gable-roofed lodges, that frequently were large enough to house as many as 40 people. In such cases a man and his family generally alternated between his parents-in-law and his own parents.

591

ADOPTION

Adoption of individuals was quite frequent in former times. As far as the writer knows, however, it always took the form of replacing of a deceased child by some other child physically resembling the one lost. I do not know whether there were any additional considerations if the child adopted happened to be a prisoner. As the name for adoption (*wanayze'rek'inayk*) indicates, it is closely connected with the common belief in reincarnation, meaning either the exchange of one spirit for another or the replacing of the spirit. A special feast could be given for adoption or it could be done at one of the regular feasts. As the child adopted was often the "friend" (*hitcak'á'ro*) of the deceased and in any case had parents living, presents were always given to his parents.

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[775]

Perhaps a better idea of the nature of adoption can be obtained from the following few words of an informant:

> When a child dies, then the father mourns for many years, and if during that time he happens to meet a child that resembles his dead child he asks to be allowed to adopt him. The parents of the child can hardly object to such a request.[a]

[765]

[a] There is no doubt in my mind that quite a number of parents believe that such a person is really their reincarnated child.

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on his fingers, and earrings in his ears. The body is then put in the casket. 764

By the time this is all finished the gravediggers have about completed their work. Then the mourners blacken their faces with charcoal and the corpse is taken up by the man to whom this duty is delegated. The mourners follow behind, weeping. Thus they proceed to the grave. When they get there the corpse is laid in the grave. Then the chief mourner steps across the center of the grave and the others do the same. When they start back, they are told under no circumstance to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. [765]

The grave is then filled in.

Then the overseer goes around to the various people in the village and invites them all to come to (the wake). The brave men and warriors are especially welcomed. 765

The mourners prepare food and when the sun goes down the chief mourner takes a stick made of hard wood and lights it and carries it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It is supposed to be still burning when placed there. After this is done (the man returns) and the overseer gets everything in readiness for the feast. When all is ready the chief mourner speaks as follows:

All my relatives who are sitting here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could justify you to come here and honor me, yet being relatives of mine, you have (in the kindness of your hearts) come to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for my child (the dead person), and tobacco is also handy, all of which the attendant when he is ready will pass around to all and give to whomsoever he pleases. That is why I am greeting you. 765 539 775

Then the attendant takes the water and tobacco and gives it to the one who is to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rises and greets all those present and speaks as follows:

To-night we are greeting you not for the sake of jollification, but because we are afflicted (with grief). Now, it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action, yet even I, they tell me, can do it, provided no worthier person can be found. They[1] even tell me that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way in his journey (to spirit land).[2] For that reason I will speak to the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in one hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you, that likewise, you are waiting for your food to take on your journey. However, four nights you will have to remain here.

[1] This and what follows is the customary ceremonial modesty.

[2] It is believed that if the chief speaker makes a mistake or exaggerates while thus addressing the spirit of the deceased, the latter will lose his way in his journey to spirit land.

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765 539 775 Now here are three things, and in return we ask you to act as mediator (between the spirits and us). You have made us long for you, and therefore do you see to it that all these things that belonged to you and that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—such as victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, and life—that all these you leave behind for us to enjoy. This do you ask for us you travel along. This also I ask of you, do not cause us to follow you soon; do not cause your brothers any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that he drinks a little water and passes it around again. It is only after the pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over, the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before a warrior and tells him to talk to the spirit and tell him the route to take.

Then the warrior rises and speaks as follows:

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy (as in the case of an ordinary feast), but because it is the custom to do it. Now I will tell the soul of the departed one the route to take and the care he must observe in his journey. I shall tell them (the ghosts) over whom I have control to guide him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate when I relate my war exploits, but tell only those things that really happened to me. It has been said that if, in talking, I tell falsehoods the spirit of the departed would stumble on the road.[1] So, therefore, I will tell only the truth, and I will tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all the obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits, but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to guide him. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food and fire, they will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

765 539 Then he begins an account of his war exploits. He tells all that he did in detail. Sometimes the account of a war exploit would last two to three hours. When he is through, the people retire for the night.

For three nights they do this and every evening they place a burning ember at the grave. This is supposed to be taken by the spirit of the dead man on his journey.

The fourth night they invite all the brave men in the neighborhood and everybody else. They prepare plenty of food, and the relatives of the mourners bring objects for the mourning games and try to comfort the mourners as best they can. The fourth night, likewise, they place a burning ember at the grave of the dead man.

As soon as the attendant prepares the food the chief mourner gets up and speaks as follows:

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you,[2] but I was in trouble, and all my relatives have come to comfort me. I feel strengthened by their actions. You all have asked me to live (not to succumb to my sorrows),

[1] It is believed that a warrior is in control of the spirits of all the people he has killed. His function at this wake is to put these spirits at the disposal of the dead man, to guide him, and to take care of him.

[2] I. e., if I were a great man and this were a ceremony of rejoicing, then a greeting would mean something. This is another example of ceremonial modesty.

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and I shall try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now this is the last night, and I am glad that it is a good night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say anything funny I hope that you will not hold back your laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to, for I will feel all the better if you do it. This is what I want you to remember. I greet you all who are present here. 765 539

Then the one who is to address the spirit speaks:

I greet you all. We have come to this (wake) for a purpose, much as we would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the route he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not everyone can talk to spirits (spirits of departed people); not everyone can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to speak to them and handed it down to my father, and he in turn gave it to me. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the right road to take and I will not cause him to stumble. I shall breathe upon the spirit of the departed, and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this sound it is a sign that they will die soon. Now all of you say it. 765 539 775

Then he says "ha-a" and "ha-a," and all join with him in repeating it.

Then he speaks again (addressing the spirit of the departed):

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. That is the road you must take. As you go along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you go farther you will again come across (some obstacle). Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Farther on you will come across some animals, and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Then go on and do not look back. The objects you throw behind you will come to those relatives whom you have left behind on earth. They will represent victory in war, riches, and animals for food. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw objects behind, you will come to a round lodge and there you will find an old woman. She is the one who is to give you further information. She will ask you, "Grandson, what is your name?" This you must tell her. Then (you must say), "Grandmother, when I was about to start from the earth I was given the following objects with which I was to act as mediator between you and the human beings (i. e., the pipe, tobacco, and food)." Then you must put the stem of the pipe in the old woman's mouth and say, "Grandmother, I have made all my relatives lonesome, my parents, my brothers, and all the others. I would therefore like to have them obtain victory in war and honors. That was my desire as I left them downhearted upon the earth. I would that they could have all that life which I left behind me on earth.[a] This is what they asked. This likewise they asked me, that they should not have to travel on this road for some time to come. They also asked to be blessed with those things that people are accustomed to have on earth. All this they wanted me to ask of you when I started from the earth.

[a] The deceased had apparently died young, and what he desires is that the difference between his years and the normal length of life be distributed among his relatives. He means not only the actual years but also whatever he would have accomplished in those years.

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765 539 775 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks, grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will now boil some food for you."

Then she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

764 [115 614] GENERALIZED DESCRIPTION OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND WARE

Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (*Aitcakdro*) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his finery, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some kinsman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew repre-
[775] sentations of their victories on the posts. The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursling the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 [775] [782]

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. [431] [276] 775

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, *ha'eu*. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the [775] [431] [525] 524

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(first version)

764 184 614 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the [615] lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the [775 539] road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(second version)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band and he comes and addresses the body as follows:

764 184 614

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-spirits. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son."

764 539 775

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake.

765 184 614

Address to the spirit.[1]—Ha-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the successful warpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of these on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road.

539 775

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the clansmen that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Thus you should speak: "Ha-o-o-o."

[1] Spirit here is *waxop'ini*, spirit, deity, not *wa'gyósde'*, ghost, unincorporeal embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys remembrances, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

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765 184 614 775 Then all the other people answer ha-ho-o-o-o. Now someone lights a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunderbirds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[1]

764 184 614 [763] Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan. To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

[1] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lasker and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 18, no. 2, 1921.

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tread firmly upon us as he walks to the spirit land. All that I know I have said before. I was taught nothing that I was to do or say at this place except that we should step over the grave just as our forefathers did when they originated. They were holy and they entered this life on a perfect day just as this day to-day, and, inasmuch as they were holy, all the ground that they touched was holy. It is for that reason that we should step over the grave. 765 184 614 539 [775]

Then we stepped over the grave. After that we went to our homes.

The same evening the wake began. When all the invited guests had arrived and were seated, the feast was spread before them. Then A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony, but are simply following up what our forefathers have learned to be true and good. And, as it is said that we should not weep aloud, therefore you will not hear any of us making any utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently should anyone come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worse of us. And now I am ready to turn over the tobacco and water to J. F. Thus I express my thanks to you all that are present.

Then J. F. took the tobacco and water and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that so many of you have come to our humble affair and, as our ancestors said that this was the proper way to do, so I am glad that it was given to me to handle the corpse, as I am certain that I will be strengthened by it. I will now pass the tobacco to Mr. X. He is a brave man and he will light the pipe and pass the water before we eat and after supper he will tell the deceased a route to the spirit land. Now I thank you and I greet you.

Then the brave man took the tobacco and filled the pipe and after taking a few puffs from it, passed it to the left and it thus went round, each person taking a puff from the pipe and a sip from the pitcher of water. Then the feast began. When it was over and all the dishes were cleared away, and everyone was properly seated, then the brave man greeted them again:

Relatives, I greet you. As we are not creating anything new, and as our ancestors knew it to be good, and as it is said that if anyone exaggerates a story in a case like this it will cause the soul to stumble, therefore I will tell my war exploits to my relative (the deceased) exactly as I remember them. I greet you all.

He then proceeded to tell his war exploits. When he had finished he again spoke as follows:

Relatives that are present, I greet you. As I said before, I do not wish to cause the soul of my recently deceased relative to stumble and I have tried to tell my story as accurately as I could. It is said that the souls of the ones killed in a battle are at the mercy of the victor, and I therefore command the souls of the ones I have killed to lead and guide my relative safely through the spirit land. I greet you all. [775]

He then passed the tobacco to another brave man present who in his turn greeted those present and related his war exploits. After two warriors had told their war exploits they stopped for the night, 765 184 614

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765 to continue on the second night. The second and third nights were
184 the same as the first. About the evening of the fourth night, when
614 all the people invited were present, A. W. spoke in the same strain as on the first night, and when he had finished he passed the management of the feast to J. F. The latter then passed it to F. F. now lit the pipe and passed it around, together with the water. Then all partook of the feast. After supper A. W. reported all the donations that were made to them, naming each giver and the amount of the gift and thanking them and praising them for their generous gifts. Then F. told the following story:

THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL TO SPIRIT LAND[1]

539 Ho! Ha! Are you all ready? I am going to speak about the four nights during
775 which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
765 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear part of the lodge for you. As you go home do not look back. Before you are far away you will come to a lodge. You may enter this lodge. A door faces the rising sun and a door faces the setting sun. As you enter you will find a woman on your right. Go and sit down opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did they say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over?" "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts (in leaving them), and that they hoped that none would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make four requests:

"First. I was to ask for life, that the flames from the lodge fires might go straight upward. Yet they were satisfied if at my departure the flames swayed to and fro.

"Second. Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives should hereafter not be deprived of.

"Third. They also mentioned nuts, all manner of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They commanded me to make a request for all things that exist in the earth.

"Fourth. That if anyone has a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side. Now, my great-grandmother, this is the number of requests they commanded me to make."

"My great-grandchild, although you are young, you are wise. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. Now, my grandchild, as to those four requests you put to me, it shall be as you say. The nuts and herbs you have requested shall be given you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, the grasses they will possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you shall be given them. Here is the food set before you in this wooden bowl."

Then you are to answer to her, "My grandmother, this was what my relatives begged for. These are the things I was to leave behind me for those on earth."

Now, be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you. For then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on this earth. Many who are older than you have eaten all that I gave them, my great-grandchild. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left in the dish shall grow on the face of the earth. Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to

[1] Obtained from Henry Cloud.

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the setting sun. On your way stands the bulge of Hereegu'nina, and his fire. Those who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wake'ja' broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, these souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the bulge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first bulge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Its door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same."

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ha!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related his war experiences.

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over.

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in

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768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the memory of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

Funeral Customs of the Buffalo Clan

764 184 64 539 Told by a member of the clan.* If a Buffalo clan man dies some members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:

To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I will talk to him about the road he is to take.

Ha°ho, my brother, the pla-e at which we originated was called Bad Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path. That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth: and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one cheers the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a piece of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

Origin Myth of the Four Nights' Wake

539 765 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

* This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here on account of the speeches.

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men on the back of his head. He immediately became paralyzed from the touch. Then they pushed another man and he could not walk. So they laughed and turned back in order to return to their home.

They had not yet learned that they were dead. One went to his camp and told his wife that he was hungry but she paid no attention to him. The other had the same experience. Then each man started to go to the other man's lodge and they met midway. The first man said, "I came back hungry and asked for food, but they would not give me any, so I thought that I would go to your place." The second one said the same thing. Then they said, "Let us lie down a while." Just then the people began to cry, for they had brought back the bodies of the two dead men. Then one of the men said, "My friend, we have been killed." The other one began to cry.

So the people gathered together and had a meal. One of the ghosts said, "We must try and get something from the meal that they are having, for the people said, 'We are giving this meal in honor of the departed.'" Then the other friend said, "Now we are going to eat, for they are cooking for us."

These two were born again and told about this, and that is how we know it. This is the origin of the Four Nights' Wake. It is claimed that the spirits of the spirit land have a four nights' feast before they start.

Grave-post Marks

(Drawings by Indians)

(Fig. 39)

Warrior has been on the warpath (homani'na).

Warrior was a leader of a warpath (sak'i').

Warrior was a helper on a warpath (wagixô'na) (rek'i').

Warrior counted one of the three coup (wa'ngwank).

Warrior had made a captive (wangîni).

Warrior had killed a horse on the warpath or stolen one from the enemy.

If a person had killed a man and cut off his head, he is allowed to paint the top (upper part!) of the grave-post red.

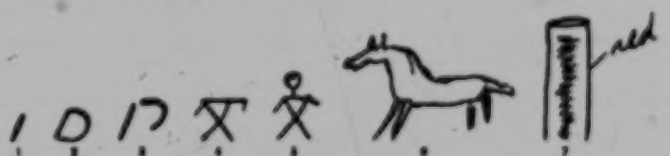

Fig. 39.—Grave-post marks: 1, Has been on the warpath; 2, has been leader on warpath; 3, has been helper on warpath; 4, has counted one of the coup; 5, has made a captive; 6, has killed horse on warpath or stolen one from enemy; 7, has killed a man and cut off his head.

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limb.[12] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil an animal with a head [13] you will always be able to eat. 867 554

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerating any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[14] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise. 867 765 554

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul and it will always be happy.[15] If you should ever desire to return to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle. 867 721 775

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry. 867 785 787

[12] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup." first. The honor of killing an enemy and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body." [535]

[13] That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors. [527]

[14] At the death of a clansman an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of the whirl surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling." 262 765 775

[15] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle, but it does insist that in him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he can and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible. 774 775

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taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such actions they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words. 867 593 858

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and possessions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you. 867 593

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute. [602 606 837]

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you 867 602 [765]

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Arnold Winne-

bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi°zakirutega; ha-iwakita°ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manaᵉpe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791 754

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 533] [789]

The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [64]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the Hoard constellation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

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upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and you have tried to gain additional life. I also desire life. Our ancestors were equal to the spirits in their power and they asked each other to help one another in obtaining life. I will try to ask for that which you have asked. I greet you all." 727 776

Then all the war-bundle owners in the lodge greeted each other, and the drum was passed around until every one in the lodge had sung. Then they danced the *hok'ixe're* dance until early dawn and when the sun was about to appear they took the drum to the post and danced the victory dance until the sun was high in the heavens. Then they went to sleep. All day they slept, and toward evening of the fourth night, when the sun was low, they began the victory dance again. When it was dark they entered the lodge and placed the drum in the center. Then the attendants put dog meat in the kettles. When all was in readiness and all the feasters had entered the lodge the host offered tobacco to the spirits for whom food was being prepared and spoke as follows: [262]

"After we have sung four songs the meal will be ready to be served. The attendants, it is true, have not cooked very much and it will doubtless not be enough for all, but I think that there will be a little portion for every one. When I have finished the four songs, then the donor for whom this ceremony is being given will select the people who are to eat with him. Then the attendants will distribute the portions of meat, in addition to the heads, and then we will all start to eat."

Then all ate. The donor after first eating with his friends ate alone with the scalp. Then some of the men arose and gave thanks. Finally the host rose again and said, "Whatever little it was in my power to do, I tried to do. All have tried to help me. It is really good. I am really unable to say what I wanted, but it is good. As the drum passes around, may it be of some help to every one."

Then the drum is passed to the one who had first counted coup. He sings and then it is passed to the other three who counted coup, who likewise sing. From them it is passed to all the other people in the lodge who have not sung yet. Then all dance the *hok'ixe're* dance and toward dawn the drum is taken outside to the post and the victory dance is given. If the donor had lost a child the others now wipe off his tears and tell him not to cry any more; and they make the mourner feel joyful again. When it became (full) daylight they danced the victory dance and walked four times around the pole. Then they went to the grave of the child that had died and danced the victory dance there and stuck the scalp in the ground, for the soul of the child. There it would wither and the father would feel happy. This is the end. [765]

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ing site, but then picking them up started for the home of his own father. 539

Thus, with the eight heads, he came to his father's lodge, but he did not enter it until late at night. Then when all his people were asleep, he blackened his face and entering the lodge, sat down in the place he had occupied before he had married. The old man suddenly saw some one sitting in his son's accustomed seat and awakening his wife he said to her, "There is some one sitting in our son's seat who looks exactly like our son." Both of them then sat up and soon they discovered that it really was their son and that he was in mourning, his face all blackened with charcoal. [965]

Then the old man spoke, "My son, what is the matter?" And the son answered, "Father, a war-party came upon my camp while I was out hunting, took my wife prisoner, and killed my children." "My son, if you had any respect for yourself, why did you not die with your children?" "Father, let me explain to you how it happened. While I was out hunting they fell upon my lodge, killed my two children and took my wife prisoner. When I came back I felt very miserable but I laughed and cooked my own meal, fed the children and ate with them for the last time. Then I pursued the war party and on that very night I killed eight of them, whose heads and war clubs I have brought home with me. Near the spring I have hidden them. There I placed the heads in a row and there I planted the war clubs in the ground, one near each head." "My son," said the father, "you have done well and the souls of your children will certainly reach the spirit land safely. For us, too, you have brought some nice heads, so that we might derive some amusement from them. I am very thankful to you." [927]

In the morning the father sent the crier around the vil-

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They all came to the Four
539 Nights' Wake and they all played the mourning games
775 with him. Then on the morning after the fourth night they
765 all went home and the young man was left alone.

Immediately he made preparations to journey toward the west, for it is said that the soul of the deceased goes in that direction. In the direction of the west did he therefore chase the soul of his wife. As he trudged along the road he became worn out with exertion and fatigue and finally found it necessary to support himself on a cane. Even for that, however, his strength was not adequate and after a while all he could do was to barely creep along. Soon his knees were worn out from the incessant crawling and he tied some basswood bark around them. Thus he continued until all his strength deserted him. He was just strong enough to crawl to a pleasant-looking knoll. "This," he said, "is pleasant and nice and here I am willing to die." He rolled over until he finally reached the coveted spot and there lay awaiting death with his eyes closed.

Suddenly, much to his surprise, he heard some one talking to him, saying, "Come let us go home. I live here." The young man opened his eyes and looked about him and there before him he saw a fearful-looking person whose body was entirely covered with hair. The young man was unable to get up but the stranger spoke to him and said, "Come on!" At this the young man jumped up and followed him around the lodge. There the old man said to him, "Grandson, you are indeed in a most pitiable condition and I wish I could help you. But I do not know how. The little knowledge I possess I will tell you." Then he gave him something to eat and spoke to him again, "My son, you must keep straight on and at some distance from here you will come to a body of water over which you must jump. Then you must proceed straight on."

The Teachings of My Father

such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble [17] in his journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than you did. The old men say it is wiser.

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please, in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on the warpath.

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My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married you will get along well. You will then not have to worry about your having children and your life will be a happy one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown.

Crashing Thunder

*159 spring of the year my father came after me and asked the superintendent whether I could go home for two weeks and he consented to let me go.

*159 765 Then my father spoke to me, "My son, your grandfather[1] is dead and they are going to have a memorial ceremony in his honor to take place at a performance of the Medicine Dance. Some one, you know, must take his place in the ceremony and they have decided that I am to be the one. Now, my son, of all the children I possess I have most control over you. I have never kept anything from you and you have never willfully disobeyed me. I want you therefore to do me the favor and take my place. I am getting old and [203] besides cannot control my desire for drink any longer. Under these circumstances I would not be able to live up to the teachings of the lodge. I wish therefore to turn my right over to you. Do you take your grandfather's place." Thus my father spoke to me.

[P. 90]

[1] [i.e., his father's uncle. See category 116, P. 107 --analyst]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

back for home they were told under no circumstances to turn around and look in the direction of the grave.

As soon as they returned home the man in charge of the funeral arrangements went around the village and invited every one to come to the wake. Brave men and warriors are especially welcome.

The mourners prepared food and when the sun went down the chief mourner took a stick made of hard wood, lit it, and carried it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It must be still burning when put there. After this the man returned and the funeral manager prepared everything for the feast. When all were gathered around he rose and addressed the people as follows:

Relatives, all you who are gathered around here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could justify you in coming here and thus honoring me, but being relatives of mine, you came in the kindness of your hearts to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for the dead person. Tobacco is also handy and as soon as the attendant is ready he will pass this around to those who wish any.

It is good that so many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony but are simply following what our ancestors found to be true and good. And as it is said that we should not weep aloud, you will not hear any of us making utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently, should any one come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worst of us.

Crashing Thunder

*159 Then the attendant took the water and tobacco and
765 gave it to the one who was to speak to the soul of the
775 departed person. This one then rose and spoke as
539 follows:
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To-night we have come together not for the sake of amusement but because we are afflicted with grief. Now it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action yet even I, they tell me, can do it provided no worthier person can be found. I have even been told that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way on his journey to spirit-land. For that reason I am going to speak to the soul of the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in his hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you; that you are waiting for the food to take with you on your journey. For four nights, however, you will have to wait here. Now here are the things that you desire. In return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you, all those things that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—the victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, life—that all these you leave behind for your relatives to enjoy. This do you ask for us as you travel along. One thing more do I ask of you: do not cause us to follow you, do not cause your relatives any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

[182]

A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that the leader drinks a little water and passes this around too. It is only after pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before some distinguished warrior who has been invited to the wake. The latter is then asked to speak to the soul of the deceased and tell him the route to take on the journey to the spirit land. This warrior then rises and speaks:

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy as on ordinary occasions but because it is the custom to come together at a wake. Now I shall show the soul of the departed the route he is to take and the care he must observe on his journey. I shall announce to him the ghosts over whom I have control and who are to conduct him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate [23] when I speak of my war exploits but relate only what really happened to me. It is said that if a person exaggerates and tells falsehoods in recounting his exploits on such an occasion, the soul of the departed will stumble on his journey. I shall therefore only tell the truth and I shall tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to act as his guide. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food, and the fire, these things the ghosts over whom

[23] For the dangers of exaggeration on such an occasion see note 15. It was also believed to cause the death of the warrior who indulged in it.

[The author apparently means note 17. See Category 116, p. 59 -- Analyst]

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I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible
[727] how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at
[775] the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his journey he took this ember, it is believed.

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives
[524] of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

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I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you. I was in trouble and all my relatives have come to comfort me. You have all asked me to live and not to succumb to my sorrows and I shall therefore try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now we have come to the last night and I am glad that it is a nice night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say something funny I hope that you will not hold back laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to for I shall feel all the better if you do. This is what I want you to remember. I greet all those who are present here.

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Then the one who is to address the spirits speaks:

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I greet you all. We have come to this wake for a purpose, much as I would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I am going to tell the soul of the departed the road he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not every one is qualified to speak to the souls of the dead; not every one can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to do it and handed it down to my father, who in turn, turned it over to me. Now I am going to breathe upon the soul of the departed and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this breathing it is a sign that they will die. So do all of you breathe with me.

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Then he said *ha-a* and all joined with him in repeating it. He now began his address to the spirit of the deceased:

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Crashing Thunder

Ho-o! Are you ready? I am going to speak of the Four Nights' Wake during which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing the sacrificial tobacco in the rear of the lodge.

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises, you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. This is the road you must take. As you walk along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you proceed you will again come across some obstacle. Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Still farther, you will come across some animals and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Go on right along and do not turn back. The objects you have thrown behind you will go to the relatives whom you left behind on earth. They will symbolize victory in war, riches, and food-animals. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw an object behind you, you will come to a lodge. This lodge you may enter. One of its doors faces the rising sun. As you enter you will find an old woman on your right. Go and sit opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did the people say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over." And you must answer, "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts in leaving them and that they hoped that none

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would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make the following four requests:

First: I was to ask for life; that the flames from the lodge fire rise straight upward. Yet they would be satisfied, they said, if at my departure the flames only swayed to and fro.

Second: Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives were not to be deprived of.

Third: They also mentioned nuts, all kinds of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They asked me to make a request for all the things that grow on the earth.

Fourth: That if any one had a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side.

Now, my great-grandmother, these are the requests my relatives commanded me to make."

Then she will answer you and say, "My great-grandchild, you are wise beyond your years. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. The four requests you have made will be granted. The nuts and herbs you have asked for shall be given to you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, all the grasses, they shall possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you will be granted. Now, great-grandson, here is some food for you in this wooden bowl."

If you eat it you will have a headache. She will say,

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"Great-grandson, you have a headache. Let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not extend as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you for then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on the earth. Many who are older than you ate all that I gave them. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left on the plate will grow on the face of the earth. Now Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to the setting sun." On your way you will come to the lodge of the chief of the bad spirits and his fire. Those who come, the souls of the brave men who have come from the land of the spirits, will meet you here and touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints representing the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into their steps and plant your feet upon their footprints, but be careful that you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far you will come into a forest of bushes alternating with prairies. Here in this beautiful country the souls whose duty it is to gather together the other souls, will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will conduct you safely home, to Earthmaker. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then Earthmaker will say to you, "All that your great-grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you."

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The door of your home will be facing the midday sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Then, inasmuch as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we do the same.

Then all those assembled at the wake shout *Ho-ha.*

[P. 101]

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*159 796 537 I beg of you to try with all your powers for I wish you to lead a happy life. This truly is our sincere wish.

Ancestors, we greet you. Our ancestors long since departed, performed the ceremony just as we do to-day. We are to have a tear-pouring ceremony for the spirit of the [765] one who has died. All those who are here will mourn for him. Whatever it is that his ghost can obtain for us by his requests,—all that he left behind him in this world—beseechingly we shall ask him to obtain. It is said that this is always procurable. What we mean is additional life. All that our ancestors desired, that we too earnestly desire. So it is when the ceremony was first established. Now we shall sing a mourning song. We must sing it with sincerity and when we cry we must not allow our voices to quaver. It has been said that if a man is bad his crying will be insincere. Ancestors, we greet you.

*159 796 The first night they kept me up all night and I heard a good deal about sacred affairs. I was not sleepy at any time during the night and I remained this way until morning. I enjoyed it all so much that I did not even go to sleep the next day. The next night they kept me up again but as before I did not get sleepy. On this night they told me even more things. Throughout three successive nights I did not sleep at all. On the fourth night they sang till morning. On the fifth night they were to have what is called the rehearsal. During the day many people began to gather. In the afternoon only the old men and myself went to the sweat lodge. Only the men who had received special invitations were allowed. When we came out it was sundown. Then those occupying the eastern